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DEVELOPMENTS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND THEIR EFFECTS ON LANGUAGE POLICY

by

RORRI MCBLANE

(C)

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Since World War II the development policies for Papua New Guinea of the Australian colonial administration were aimed at creating a 'western', capitalist and democratic nation in its own image at some indefinate point in the unspecified future.

The cornerstone of the range of activities implemented by Australia to realize these aims was the mass education in English of the indigenous population, on the assumption that English was inherently superior and thus potentially more relevant to Papua New Guinea as a nation than any vernacular or 'trade' language in the then territory. The administration also held the view that the universal adoption of English would play an important role in facilitating the development of the country.

However, between 1950 and the attainment of independence in 1975, a 'trade' language -- Pidgin -- assumed a powerful role more as a means of inter-tribal communication and less as an expression of the master-servant condition inherent in the colonial relationship.

Through a variety of mechanisms, including the indentured labour system, the introduction of cooperatives and technological innovations, the administration's own development policies and the mass

education in Pidgin provided by the religious missions Pidgin, rather than English, spread widely into new economic, educational, social and political contexts. As Pidgin language, the values which became attached to it and communication patterns diffused to new contexts where it was necessary, acceptable and relevant a speech community emerged.

This community, articulate in or sympathetic to the expression of Pidgin -- in opposition to the official policy of English only in the schools -- provided, through the process of 'Pidginization', the means by which at least a degree of indigenous unity of thought and action was realized.

Because Pidgin effectively crossed all geographical, territorial, tribal, occupational, social status, economic, political and linguistic boundaries, because it was not seen as the language of the dominant colonial power and because it was not the language of any single indigenous group, Papua New Guineans were able to 'choose', by circumstance and facility of use, their own language of national unity and identity and not the language chosen for them by their colonizers.

The process of Pidginization thus intervened to alter the intended direction and pace of Australian policies relevant to language, development and social change as they applied to Papua New Guineans.

Pidginization led ultimately to indigenous suggestions for change based on their own preceptions and expressed through Pidgin.

Using Pidgin as both a medium and a symbol of its nascent nationalist aspirations, Papua New Guinea achieved political independence from Australia in 1975.

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INTRODUCTION

> Language is part of the fundamental national identity of a ...national group (Mead,1959,32).

Language and National Development

Language and issues related to language have played a significant role in the establishment, definition and recognition of nations and have been a powerful symbol and agent of national unity and integration and, on occasion, disintegration.

The emergence of a feeling of national unity, especially in a society which tended to be 'fragmented', had its roots primarily in the efforts of the protoelites who felt

> excluded from the power and influence they covet and who possess the personal gifts and material resources to move symbols and masses toward desired sociopolitical regroupings (Fishman,1972,15).

However, a common purpose or a push toward greater societal integration at the national level is

> marked not by its [ie. a common languages] existence in the upper reaches of society, but by its successful communication to and activation of the urban (and ultimately also the rural) lower middle and lower classes. Such spread frequently involve[s] a new intellectual and economic protoelite just as much as it involve[s] a new class of respondents (Fishman,1972,15).

In other words, a common language contributes to developing a sense of nationhood among people by vertically linking the protoelite with the masses and, even more importantly, establishing horizontal communication linkages among the masses themselves.

The ability to communicate ones' ideals, ideology and goals from the small elite or protoelite to the larger population hinges on a number of factors, not the least of which is the choice of the language, or code, which is used to both send and receive the messages relevant to these ideals.

Whatever its special role with regard to particular peoples or nations, however,

> Societal and national perspectives on language clarify the fact - otherwise easily overlooked - that languages do not really exist except as part of a matrix of language varieties, language behaviors and behaviors towards language (Fishman,Ferguson, Das Gupta,1968,x-xi).

Thus, the context in which a language operates, or does not operate, is of direct importance to developing an appreciation of the role it can play in relation to the development, emergence and continuation of a sense of national unity.

The Problem of Language Diversity

Where there is a degree of linguistic homogeneity as, for example, in many of the 'historic' nations of

Europe, the relation between sharing a common language and the unity of its speakers is clear, although not absolute.

> The more inclusive organization and the elaborated beliefs, values and behaviors which nationalities develop on behalf of their avowed ethnocultural self-interest constitute the referents of the term nationalism (Fishman,1972,4).

Nevertheless, the means by which beliefs, values, norms and behaviors are communicated and shared among a population plays a significant role in the success, however defined, with which the communications are transmitted, received and responded to. So where there is little linguistic homogeneity as, for example, in many African nations, the choice or selection of the means of communciation is, or can be, problematic.

The number of solutions to the problem are as numerous as there are countries and, indeed, as numerous as there are individuals who favour, for one reason or another, one language over another.

Language Goals in National Development

But whatever solution is reached, however, it is implemented through the creation and carrying out of language policies predicated on what the policy-makers see as a desireable result.

The result, or aim, of the policies may be to:

1. work toward a common language for its symbolic value to create a feeling of national unity.
2. work toward a common language for its functional value in both communication and political motivation.
3. subjugate the indigenous population, as was the case in those areas which were the recipients of colonial status. Language here acts as both a symbol and an agent of domination.

Linguistic cohesiveness and homogeneity are, however, difficult to realize in multi-ethnic, multi-lingual societies which have their emphasis on the local as opposed to the national or international, and where norms, values and beliefs are disparate and complex in their inter-relationships.

One such nation is Papua New Guinea, which achieved independence from Australia in 1975 and which has a conservatively estimated five hundred distinct languages (White,1972) as well as equally diverse ethno-cultural groupings.

The Australian colonial language policy relevant to Papua New Guinea was very clear

> it was obviously useless to teach the population to read and write in local languages which were understood by only a few thousand people. A common

> tongue must be chosen, and taught throughout the region (White,1972,162).

English, of course, was the language chosen and policies were put into place which, it was felt, would achieve the desired result at a distant point in the unforseeable future.

However, contrary to both expectations and policies, there were numbers of developments, shifts and changes throughout the fabric of Papua New Guinea society which effectively resulted in a sidestepping of the policies and provided the indigenous population with their 'own' language. This language was not the imposed language of the colonizers and was not a majority nor a minority indigenous language. Rather, the language which in a sense defied the official policy was a 'trade' language, Neo-Melanesian (Hall,1958) or, more commonly, Pidgin. Throughout this study, the term 'Pidgin' is used in a non-linguistic sense to refer to the language known in the pidgin of Papua New Guinea as Tok Pisin.

The developments within Papua New Guinea which allowed Pidgin to assume the role of both symbol and agent for a degree of national unity, based on a degree of linguistic homogeneity and providing the basis for a common unity of political purpose in opposition to the Australian language policy, are the subject of this study.

Although selected historical information prior to 1945 has been included in order to provide a broader context this study is concerned primarily with the thirty years between 1945 and 1975. The year 1945 was selected because it was the end of World War II and signalled the beginning of the formation of new attitudes toward the indigenous population by the Australians. The study ended in 1975 because the country obtained independence in that year and it can be said to have reached an end point in its initial development toward national and linguistic unity.

The purposes of this study, then, are

1. to provide a review of the link between language, national unity and language policy as it relates to particular nations.
2. to provide an overview of selected developments in Papua New Guinea prior to 1975 which provide the raw material for
3. a description and explanation of the effects of Pidgin on the Australian colonial language policy.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

THE RELATION OF LANGUAGE TO NATIONAL UNITY IN PARTICULAR CONTEXTS

Central to the analysis of the relationship between Pidgin and Papua New Guinea national unity as expressed through language is an examination of the role which language has played in the formation, definition and recognition of nations, both generally and more specifically in the country being studied.

Drives toward nationhood are a movement or desire for movement of people into a political unit. Symbols of the political unit range from a national anthem, perhaps a national dress, and a flag, to acceptance of a common government and its attendant institutions. As peoples coalesce around these symbols a means of communication becomes "...part of the venture into national identity" (Mead,1959,32).

Haugen (1972), Nayar (1969), Richards (1969), Alisjahbana (1968), Garvin (1958) and Fishman (1972b) all refer to language as both a symbol and agent of raising a group to conscious unity and identity with each other as people and with the 'political community' which stands at the centre of the nation. Furthermore, as the central political authority moves into the periphery -- the population both geographically and intellectually

removed from the centre -- the base of political authority broadens and thus there is more scope for the entire political community to contribute to long-range national development (Das Gupta,1968). Part of this centre to periphery movement in terms of political authority involves language, so linguistic code can also be considered to be a factor in long-range national development, including national integration.

Haugen (1972) refines this concept by pointing out that a nation is not only a geopolitical unit, but a social one as well. Over an individual's personal and local identity within this social unit, the central political authority superimposes a national identity by "...identifying his ego with that of all others within the nation and separating it from all others outside the nation" (104).

One element which provides a basis for the identification of one's ego with others is language. This relationship between language and the identification of one's self in relation to others is best considered within the concept of the 'speech community'.

Speech Community

Speech community, originally explicated by Leonard Bloomfield (1933), is, according to Hymes

> a fundamental concept for the relation between language, speech and social structure (1964,385).

As there also exists an "...intense association...of language...with the issue of national integration" (Das Gupta,1972,158) it is reasonable to link the concept of speech community to movements toward national unity, the presumption being that a nation is more clearly defined within a speech community rather than without it.

Defining the relationship between language, speech, social structure and the nation has long been a difficulty appreciated by anthropologists, sociologists, and linguists alike. This is reflected in the wealth of definitions and revisions to earlier definitions found in the literature. The major area of difficulty appears to lie in the conceptualization of the basis of the term itself.

A number of scholars, including Deutsch (1966), Fishman (1971), and Gumperz (1968), have considered the definition of speech community to be primarily concerned with 'speech signals' or 'speech variety' (Fishman,1971). The focus is on code and the homogeneity of codes as the defining characteristic of a speech community.

Other scholars, however, as well as the later work of Gumperz (1972;1974), have conceptualized the notion of speech community as a 'social group' rather than a 'language group' <u>per se</u>. Hymes (1972;1974), in particular, describes a speech community as a 'social, rather than a linguistic, entity' (1972,54) and notes

that ones 'speech area' or Sprechbund is not dependent on sharing a common code but rather on sharing linguistic norms. Boundaries of linguistic etiquette then, are not necessarily parallel to the boundaries of linguistic code and thus the sharing of strictly grammatical rules is not necessarily a precondition to establishing the boundaries of a speech community (Hymes,1972) nor to establishing the boundaries of a nation.

Further, variability -- variation of pronunciation or other grammatical or lexical items of some words -- in a single code is conditioned by social factors and 'the values or alternates of such a variable need not be confined to items normally considered part of the same language or dialect' although there must be referential equivalence (Gumperz,1972,20).

> a community cannot be presumed on the basis of just ethnic identity, territory, or linguistic varieties. It is also important to examine the existence of shared values and of regular communication patterns (Butorac,1977,17).

The communication pattern is the crucial point to be considered here. A degree of identification with others does not depend necessarily on the ability to speak a particular language but rather on ones degree of affiliation to others based on shared norms, values and aspirations as expressed by those who do speak the language.

A speech community, then, is more adequately and accurately defineable in the social and political sense than it is in the purely linguistic. Once having acknowledged the prescience of these elements in speech community the concerns then evolve to a consideration of criteria useful and requisite to the definition and explanation of speech boundaries and their relation to national boundaries.

Ethnographers have noted that social boundaries may or may not have territorial boundaries (Barth,1969). A prime determinant of the definition of an individual as a member of a particular social community, and thus for the establishment of a social boundary, is the 'sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement' (15).

Extrapolating this concept, Labov has stated that

> The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms...(1972,20).

Thus, the defining of a speech boundary, like a social boundary, is not limited to identifying the range of a single code, nor to identifying a tangible or physical reference base upon which verbal interaction takes place (Fishman,1971).

Even though national boundaries and speech boundaries may coincide (Fishman,1971;Gumperz,1972) the presence of a national/territorial/geopolitical boundary

does not preclude the existence of a speech boundary delimiting or defining a speech community which extends beyond the national boundary.

> There is not ... any exact correlation between language groups and nationalities and language differences do not clearly divide nationalities (Shafer,1955,234).

However, demographers note that population boundaries have in effect been stabilized or defined by the superimposition of political boundaries (Clarke,1971,30).

A case can be made then, for the assertion that just as political boundaries have defined and stabilized population boundaries, political boundaries have, as well, been a factor in the definition of speech boundaries in the sense that individuals within or without given national boundaries are party to some defining factor which establishes them as a speech community, irrespective of code, ethnic groupings, occupation, interests, friendship, family or any other number of criteria used to define a community. This defining factor has often been provided by a degree of affiliation to a code irrespective of competence in that code and irrespective of a lack of homogeneity of codes within any particular set of national boundaries.

For example, a 'Swahili-ized' individual may be a citizen of any one of a number of countries and may have little or no competence in Swahili, but he is

ideologically affiliated to Swahili and thus becomes part of the larger speech community which is also 'Swahilized'. Ideological affinity with a code, particularly and specifically where this affinity is at the level of sharing rules governing basic communicative strategies so the 'speakers can decode the social meanings carried by alternative modes of communication' (Gumperz,1972,16), thus becomes a definitive characteristic of a speech community.

Given that this is the case it is apparent that because the boundaries can be established on the basis of a degree of ideological affinity, the individuals within that community can, given the appropriate circumstances and the appropriate leadership, develop a sense of cohesiveness which has implications for the formation and development of a sense of national unity and a subsequent desire for the realization of nationhood. The emergence of a speech community, therefore, can correlate very closely with the articulation of a nationalist ideology and the emergence of a feeling of national unity.

Language and National Identity

Although the language which is used to express a nationalist ideology is of less importance, as previously noted, than the sharing of norms, it is nevertheless the language itself which provides the basis for communicating and sharing these norms in the first

instance and the basis for the development of a sense of national unity and identity.

> Even in the Renaissance it was perfectly clear to serious students of the subject that the term 'language' was associated with the rise of a nation to concious unity and identity (Haugen,1972,101).

The link between language and national unity is made clearer upon comparison between the number of national languages and the number of sovereign nation states.

Table I: Number of National Languages and Modern Sovereign States 1800 - 1974

Year	1800	1900	1937	1974
National Languages	16	30	53	55+
Sovereign States	15	21	29	138

(Trudgill,1974;Deutsch,1968)

Prior to 1950 there is a sharper rise in the number of national languages than in the number of nation states, testimony to the fact that, in some instances at least, nations first coalesced around a language and only later around a geopolitical centre. This does not imply, nor is it evidenced by the figures, that linguistic homogeneity or at least agreement on the utilization of a particular national code or codes is a precondition necessary to the establishment and recognition of a nation-state, but it does point out the major role that language can play, under certain conditions, in identifying and uniting particular groups of people.

To illustrate this, a number of European nations reached some form of statehood even when in association

with another, larger, state, paralleling linguistic unity, as, for example, the Swedes, Germans, Dutch, English, French, and Spanish. The link between the nation, in whatever form, and a degree of linguistic unity has been noted by Trudgill (1974), who asserts that the languages of these peoples and areas emerged as national languages as national consciousness grew. The implication is that language acted as both a vehicle and product of national integration and unification.

This relationship between language, 'political identity' and national ideology is well illustrated by the Basques. These Euskera-speaking people of unclear origin inhabit the Pyrenees on both sides of the Spain-France border. The Spanish Basques, numbering perhaps up to 600,000, have a long history of expressing their desire for a separate Basque nation (Payne,1975). The French Basques, numbering approximately 90,000, did not emerge until as recently as 1933 as a somewhat coherent force dedicated to uniting their own three regionalized communities and ultimately all eight of the French and Spanish communities into an independent Basque state. This tide of nationalism and unity, on both sides of the border, '...is based on language and culture' (Payne,1975,9) rather than on any other criteria. Basque nationalists point out that if they were given political independence they would already be 'linguistically

integrated' and would no longer have to learn Spanish in order to communicate effectively with the political centre.

It is noteworthy that Basque separatist tendencies arise, at least in part, from their linguistic homogeneity -- consistent with the earlier discussion of the link between language and national unity and also consistent with the earlier discussion of a speech community based not so much on the code as on the shared values and norms as expressed through the code.

Jakobson, as reported in Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta (1968), has provided an excellent further illustration with his description of aspirations for self-determination among the Slavs of Eastern Europe, particularly the Czechs. Lunt (1959), through his study of Standard Macedonian, isolates and describes both the political and linguistic contexts in which much of Eastern Europe operates.

Politically, Macedonia is today part of Yugoslavia and has been multi-lingual -- Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, Macedonian and Turkish -- throughout modern recorded history (Lunt,1959). Macedonia has had a chequered linguistic history ranging from Bulgarian in the 1800's and early 1900's, to the relatively recent (1918-1941) era in which only Serbo-Croatian was permitted in public life.

In spite of the government decree, however, student members of the linguistically homogeneous Macedonians began to form and crystallize a 'specifically Macedonian national feeling' (Lunt,1959,21). A separatist movement arose which had at its core a dream of an autonomous Macedonian state. This movement, following World War II, impelled Macedonian speakers to support a federated Yugoslavian state in which, at present, students attend Macedonian language schools and language policy both permits and seeks to extend the use of Macedonian. The 'linguistic state' has resulted in the creation of a form of politically conscious and politically identifiable state.

Elsewhere in Europe the situation either has been or is quite similar. In Ireland the Comhairle Na Gaeilge (1974), through a number of practical suggestions as to how Irish Gaelic could be re-introduced and strengthened, implies both a need and a desire to resurrect Gaelige as a factor of Irish identity and integration.

In Norway too, when it separated from Denmark in 1914

> among the several symbols of national individuality and independence language was hit upon as one of the most important (Haugen,1959,8).

As a reaction by Norwegians against political and linguistic domination by Denmark the Ministry of Church and Education was charged in 1917 with the task of

opening the way for national unity 'based on the real spoken language of the people' (Lunt,1959,12). This directive resulted in adjustments to language names (Landsmal to Nynorsk and Riksmal to Bokmal) and the emergence of a strong sense of 'Norwegian-ness' as expressed through Nynorsk.

Thus in Europe the formation of a nationalist ideology and the drive for political and linguistic autonomy were closely linked and complementary. The same situation obtains in countries outside of Europe and language reflects and is reflected in campaigns, past and present, for national integration and unity. Much of European nationalism became the nationalism of colonizers, and resulted in a drive to expand 'national empires' by the usurpation, domination and exploitation of new territories (Fishman,1972b).

Domination of the new colonies by European interests encompassed the political, economic, technological educational and linguistic.

> Western formal education came to most countries as part of imperialist domination. It was consistent with the goals of imperialism: the economic and political control of the people in one country by the dominant class in another. The imperial powers attempted, through schooling, to train the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer (Carnoy,1974,33).

This thought is not new. Charles Grant, writing in 1799, and Macaulay, a British administrator in India writing about 1834, both recognized that the imposition of a language on the conquered is a fundamental practice by which superiority can be fostered and maintained (Carnoy,1974,97). Walter Rodney has also noted in his work How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972) that securing African compliance in the pursuance of colonial policies was based on education, the cornerstone of which was the imposition of the language of the colonizers. Further, Franz Fanon (1967) has stated that the colonized have reacted, consciously or unconciously, to this linguistic domination by using the facilities provided by the colonizers to learn the language of the dominant group and thus 'deal more effectively with the European' (Carnoy,1974,131).

In the context of French cultural and linguistic domination but extendable to domination by any culture or language

> Every colonized people...finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother countries cultural standards. The negro of the Antilles will be proportionally whiter -- that is, he will come closer to being a real human being -- in direct ratio to his mastery of the French language (Fanon,1967,18).

The colonizers created in their subordinates the aspiration, fulfillable through education, to master the imposed language and open what few doors there were, and are, to both higher status and higher paying jobs (Carnoy,1974).

Domination by colonial mentalities continued even after colonialism formally ended with independence (Carnoy,1974,66). Work to remove this mentality has been initiated by Paulo Freire, for one, who, through his efforts to 'conscientize' Brazilian peasants has used, significantly, linguistic exercises to aid these peasants in discovering, and thus reacting to, the fact that '...the hierarchical position of their superiors...is not a natural or divine but merely human phenomena' (Goulet,1975,43). The experience of the colonized has generally been to become and remain subordinate to the colonizers through the vehicle of linguistic domination.

The two major colonizers, France and England, had fundamentally different approaches to their colonies. The French followed a pattern of 'assimilation' which was aimed at the creation and absorption of a small political and social elite and taught French in the schools from the earliest years and used it as the medium of instruction throughout (Spencer,1974). This orientation was based, at least in part, on

> the belief that language will play a predominant role in the cultural

> orientation of a man or of a nation (Gallagher,1968,129).

In the Arab world, one of France's many spheres of influence, this ideology is reflected in the fact that Arabs consider the use of a common tongue the basis of their identity (Gallagher,1968). The Maghreb, composed of Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria, for example, has language policies which make Arabic the official, national, and state language. Arabic is the language of the majority. However, French predominates in all political and upper-level social circles and in Tunisia the government addresses the people in French. Nevertheless, the majority language reflects 'Arabization' -- a socio-cultural, religious, and historical concept rather than a linguistic activity per se and a speech community exists which, in spite of an imposed colonial language, is defined by Arabic rather than French.

In Africa south of the Sahara the situation is decidedly more complex and is influenced by at least two factors. One factor is the differing colonial ideologies and methods of implementation and operation. Whereas the French desired to create more Frenchmen the British, on the other hand, generally practiced 'indirect rule' which placed the emphasis more on control, domination, and exploitation rather than on making more de facto Englishmen.

A second factor, particularly in West Africa, is the high degree of linguistic diversity which obtains. The Leverhulme Conference in Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1962, for example, noted that

> there is not a single West African country where a given language is spoken by more than a sizeable minority of the population (Armstrong,1968,231).

Both of these factors are exemplified by the situation in Nigeria which, in common with many other sub-Saharan nations, had its geo-political boundaries established on the basis of colonial administrative expediency. In the first instance, the British in Nigeria utilized the policy of 'indirect rule', which in practice meant that 'Native Authority Areas" were administered through a variety of local vernaculars. Secondly, the complex ethno-linguistic pluralism and the presence of a number of viable speech communities were factors which made it difficult for an administratively unified federal Nigerian state to become and remain really unified (Paden,1968).

Following World War II, however, with political power being placed more and more in the hands of Nigerians, there emerged a move toward mass education and literacy. With the increase in indigenous political power, the creation of political parties and the emergence of Nigerian leaders, the integration of both

regional and federal political units became the cornerstone of the drive to ultimate self-government and independence. Language became a key issue and a focus of indigenous concern.

In 1950 English was introduced into the elementary schools, consistent with the fact that political power had been and continued to be expressed in English (Beckett,1977). By 1965, with General Aguiyi-Ironsi in power, the language policy was codified so that the language of the civil service and local governments was to be English. This decision was extremely unpopular in the Northern Regions in particular, however, which had for quite some time been 'regionally integrated'. Hausa was the language of social intercourse as well as of educational and political communication.

Hausa had originally been so widespread, not only in Northern Nigeria but across the northern regions of other West African nations, that by 1912 northern Nigerians were using textbooks on geography, arithmetic and hygiene printed in that language (Paden,1968). By 1950 the principal medium of instruction in the south was English; in the north Hausa. By 1964, political literature was being produced and political rallies held in Hausa. In northern Nigeria, Hausa has operated effectively as a vehicle of regional political integration but because of its very regionalism has acted as a barrier to national

or federal political integration based on a broad policy emphasising English. This is in spite of the fact that the educated elite of the south, and the seat of political power, operate in English (Beckett,1977).

Northern Nigeria's concern for its cultural, political and linguistic 'Northern-ness' is paralleled in East Africa by the widespread use of Swahili. Swahili is at present spoken in the eastern regions of the Congo, southern Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. Prior to independence, Swahili

> was an essential component of Tanganyikas' identity; it was equated with 'Tanganyikaness' (Bienin, 1974,43).

Bienen (1974), Morrison (1976), and Whitely (1968) have all drawn attention to Swahili's key role in the political development of East African communities. In Tanganyika in particular

> It provided an ideal, ready-made vehicle through which TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) officials could communicate with the grass roots of society and operate even in unfamiliar localities (Bienen,1974,43).

Prior to independence, the amalgamation with the island of Zanzibar, and the renaming to Tanzania, TANU's policy was to promote both adult education and literacy by establishing schools which utilized Swahili. After independence Swahili became the official language of the country and in 1965 it was made compulsory in secondary

schools. Further to linking national integration with language Swahili became, again in 1965, the only language which TANU candidates could use when running for election (Bienen,1974). This represented an attempt to keep TANU free from association with any particular tribal tongue and to emphasise national integration and linguistic unity rather than diversity.

The term 'Swahili', however, does not represent only a language, it represents a speech community. It is associated with "Islam, with the coast, with TANU, and above all with a style of life" (Bienen,1974). This 'style of life' involves a large variety of things from the choice of a Swahili-ized name (rather than Christianized) to a preference for Swahili rather than another language -- either vernacular or English.

> Swahili culture, as distinguished from tribal culture, represents a confrontation of the traditional and modern political cultures ... TANU is both the carrier of this Swahili culture and an expression of it (Bienen,1974,46).

Almost the exact opposite obtains, however, in Ghana, where English has remained the official language of the country because of its 'unifying role' (Whitely,1974,183). In this instance it was the language of the colonizers, spoken in a distinctly Ghanaian way, which provided the vehicle both for developing a

nationalist ideology and delivering it, through Kwame Nkrumah, to the people.

Another area similar to Africa in its extreme diversity of language is India. India has twelve major languages, each spoken by at least 10,000,000 people or at least one tenth of the population. These twelve languages comprise approximately 92% of the Indian population. Within this highly diverse situation each language has its speakers "intense loyalty, pride and literary heritage" (Nayar,1969,27). Inside each of these major linguistic areas there are few barriers to communication and as a result the nationalist movement has had, by force of circumstance, to be spread by utilizing the vernaculars. Rather than a single language acting as a catalyst for the development of a popular nationalist movement, the nationalist movement caused the modern languages to gain "a new eminence" (Nayar, 1969,27).

The drive for and achievement of Indian independence in 1947 was followed almost immediately by actions directed towards removing the language of domination, English (Das Gupta,1972). Attempts were initiated to decide a national language other than English to promote inter-regional communication and national integration.

At present it is stressed by the government that an indigenous language should serve as both inter-regional

language and official language of the nation. Article 351 of the constitution promotes Hindi in this regard. English, however, is considered significant in science and technology, as well as in international communications (Nayar,1969). In this context English is not only the heritage of colonialism, but a powerful factor in its continuation (Nayar,1969).

There is, however, a general reaction against the use of Hindi by a large part of the population. This reaction is largely due to the fear of Hindi replacing English as the language of domination. In contrast though, 'non-governmental social forces' are favouring the spread of Hindi. Furthermore, Hindi has become not only the 'exchange agency' for Indian literature but the inter-regional link language and lingua franca as well. A 'bazaar' Hindi has also developed (Nayar,1969).

Although the National Integration Council in June, 1968, endorsed English as the medium of instruction in universities, the Indian constitution has given the regions autonomy with regards to education and pre-university studies are generally carried on in the language appropriate to the linguistic region in which the school is located. In spite of this, however, the present trend is towards an increasing proportion of the population to have competency in English. This would have to be due to the fact that access to higher

education, money, and social and political power is still through English and it still has a powerful role to play in national integration.

> One reason for the necessity of English in India is its essential role in national unity and integration (Nayar,1969,283).

One nation which appears to have reached some kind of compromise on the issue of language and national unity with the notable absence of a former colonial language is the People's Republic of China. The PRC has a language base which consists entirely of indigenous languages. During the First Republic (1912-1949) the Chinese continued what is apparently a long series of exertions to realize both a national language and a simpler script (Newnham,1971). Since 1911 efforts have been made to establish some form of the Beijing dialect as China's national language. This was accomplished in 1955 with the adoption of p'u-t'ung-hua (PTH), composed of Beijing phonology and North Chinese grammer and lexicon (Barnes, 1974). Two other components of modern-day China's overall language policy are p'in-yin, the alphabet character annotation system for use in schools, and kuei'pan-hua, or standardization. All three components are aimed toward a nationwide, simplified, standardized communication code. Further,

> The value of a national language (PTH) in standardized form is always closely identified with an exuberant

> nationalism which pictures a victorious revolutionary China casting off the shackles and constraints of the past and rising, Phoenix-like, toward new purpose, unity and accomplishment. In this titanic struggle the lack of a national standard language is considered a major incovenience, restricting the mobility of personnel in government, party and military jobs, limiting the efficiency of national forms of communication and prejudicing the success of the educational system (Barnes,1974,469).

Indonesia and Malaysia, too, have begun to realize their national, political and social aspirations with direct reference to a language indigenous to the area rather than one from outside. Bahasa Indonesia, common to both Indonesia and Malaysia, was adopted early on as one of the symbols of a nationalsit movement directed against the then colonial Dutch (Tanner,1972). The slogan 'one people, one homeland, one language' utilized during the anticipatory period prior to independence exemplifies this. This identification of a common tongue with a common social, cultural, and political direction has resulted in the consideration of the national lingua franca, Bahasa Indonesia, as "synonomous with the very idea of an Indonesian state, and is symbolic of unity in diversity" (Fischer,1968,109).

At least one of the reasons for this is that Bahasa Indonesia is not the language of the majority group, the

Javanese, and was therefore not the imposition of a language of the majority by the majority (Fischer,1968).

The success of the use of a minority language in Indonesia and Malaysia lies in the fact that it bridges the cultural divides among many diverse groups and thus diminishes cultural conflict and the problems of political communication, all aiding, ultimately, the formation of a nationalist ideology, national integration and unity.

In the Philippines there has long been the recognition of the force of language as a unifier, following a chequered linguistic history involving a lengthy period of Hispanization from 1565 to 1863, and the American brand of colonialism from 1898 to the Japanese occupation of the islands during World War II (Lande,1968).

During the Spanish regime, a policy similar to 'seperate development' obtained. The peasantry received instruction in their diverse languages while the established indigenous elite received theirs in Spanish.

With the collapse of Spain as both a world and colonizing power, the United States imposed the use of English. This had the effect, over roughly a forty year period, of providing a common tongue to "...a substantial proportion of the common people" (Lande,1968,321).

The Filipino political centre during colonial times recognized the importance of language as a unifying force. President Quezon, in 1936, stated that a common language "constitutes one of the strongest ties that bind the people and foster the unity of national ideals, aspirations and sentiments" (Sibayan,1974,223). This statement signalled the beginning of a series of extremely rapid steps directed towards the selection, adoption, and implementation of a language other than English to be used to foster and continue 'the unity of national ideals' (223).

November, 1936, saw the creation of the Institute of National Language. In January, 1937, a committee of seven was appointed to decide what the national language should be and by November a recommendation was made for the use of Tagalog. In December of the same year President Quezon declared Tagalog the national language. By April of 1940 dictionaries and grammars of Tagalog were being printed, and in June a Congressional Act provided that Tagalog would become the official language on July 4th, 1946. Also in June of 1940, all schools began using Tagalog (Sibayan,1974,224).

> In spite of the fact that English is employed in all public documents, is spoken by government officials at both local administrative and higher levels and crosses regional, tribal, and cultural boundaries we learn Tagalog (Filipino) so that we as a people will speak with one language

> and identify ourselves with it, so that we may participate in the ritual act of speaking to confirm or affirm our solidarity as one nation...(Sibayan,1974,221).

Language and the Community

Thus, through a variety of methods and approaches, 'accidents of history', planned and unplanned developments and initiatives related to political unity and national 'spirit' it is clear that language has had a significant role to play in defining nations as well as the people, both individually and collectively, who inhabit, by choice or circumstance, those nations. As is also apparent from the literature a feeling of unity and a sense of community arises both because of and in spite of political decisions relating to the language. In the Philippines Tagalog is the national language because the indigenous government says it is so. It has a different role to play than English. In Ghana, English has become the main vehicle for inter-tribal communication not so much because the colonial authorities decreed it to be, but rather because it plays a useful role in the ordinary lives of the ordinary people in crossing various linguistic and tribal boundaries.

Coupled with the basic utility of a particular language there has arisen, under certain conditions and in particular areas, speech communities which, regardless of geo-political boundaries or government decree,

function as coherent and identifiable collocations of people who share norms, values and patterns of communication. 'Swahili-ized','Arab-ized', and 'Northern-ness' reflect this sharing even if individuals within the community do not speak Swahili, Arabic or Hausa, as the case may be, and even if they both recognize and utilize another language in order to gain access to power, prestige and money.

In those areas that do not have linguistic homogeneity within a particular set of geo-political boundaries, the speech community, under certain conditions, overcomes both the linguistic and political barriers to the development of a common bond and contributes to the development and articulation of a nationalist ideology and a feeling of national unity.

Papua New Guinea

The focus of this study, Papua New Guinea, has had to reconcile a large diversity of indigenous languages and a colonial history with nationalist aspirations.

When the Germans declared a protectorate over Micronesia and North-west New Guinea in 1850 they found not only an abundance of vernaculars, but Melanesian Pidgin well-established and active over a large part of the territory they had usurped (Hall,1958,22). Pidgin

> was not a native language with English words. It [was] a structured carryover from some native languages with English and other words accepted

> and modified and given more than their English meaning (Healey,1969,7).

The assiduity with which Pidgin was pursued has been credited to the 'blackbirders', sailors and traders who combed not only Melanesia but Polynesia and Micronesia, capturing islanders for indentured labour on the sugar plantations of north-eastern Australia (Palmer,1973;Hall,1958,Wurm,1966). In many instances the indentured islanders fell back on a developing 'trade' language -- Pidgin -- in order to communicate.

The extensive use of Pidgin notwithstanding, the German colonial Administration expressed an immediate distaste for it and

> declared that it would be a source of disgrace for Germany's standing in the world if Pidgin were not rooted out (Hall,1958,22).

When the Protectorate of British New Guinea was declared in 1884, the missions reacted to the linguistic situation they found by not only accepting it, but utilizing it for educational and religious purposes, with or without the sanction of the administrative centre. The Catholic missions, for instance, utilized Pidgin in their elementary schools.

In 1914 the Australians were given the reins of control in the administration of the territory. They neither censured Pidgin nor attempted to put a stop to its use in missions and mission-run schools. Smith

(1975), Johnson (1975) and Litteral (1974) have all noted the unspoken acquiescence of the Australian administration toward the use and utilization of Pidgin in non-administration schools in the period prior to 1942.

This colonially comfortable state of affairs would in all likelihood have continued indefinitely had it not been for the intervention of World War II in the South Pacific. It had an immense impact in Melanesia and for a variety of reasons became a watershed in Papua New Guineas' history and development.

> The war...had directed the attention of some of the most perceptive minds in Australia to New Guinea. By 1945 there were a group of men, well-informed about New Guinea and developments in other colonial areas, ready to assist the government (Nelson,1972,87).

This 'shock' to the entire Papua New Guinea system was coupled with the audible and acknowledged spread of Pidgin during the Japanese occupation of the New Guinea coast and the islands north of it. The occupation effectively turned the Australians' attention away from the administration of the colony to the defense of both it and their homeland.

The Japanese had used Pidgin "as their normal language of communication with the natives" (Hall,1958,23). Doubtless as well, the use by the allied forces of Papua New Guineans from all over the territory

as supply carriers had as a consequence the further diffusion and expansion of Pidgin which, by the time Australia fully re-occupied the territory in 1945, had become

> a territory-wide language, used and understood even in regions where no white person had ever gone, and serving as a vehicle for all types of expressions (Hall,1958,24).

Among the Australian authorities arose a "new awareness of territory-wide needs, a developing awareness of the country as a unit" (Louisson,1970,16) and, as a consequence, a decision was made to begin to articulate a policy of national development for Papua New Guinea and its peoples.

CHAPTER II

PAPUA NEW GUINEA: THE ESSENTIAL BACKGROUND

The articulation of a policy of national development in Papua New Guinea had three main thrusts: economics, politics and education. In order to begin to understand, appreciate and analyse the nature and consequences of the link between Pidgin, national unity and language policy up to independence in 1975 it is necessary to provide a description of some of the elements within these three dimensions. An overview of the directions in which the country was led, as well as the directions it decided to take upon itself, provides the context in which specifically language interests may be addressed, for

> the problems of today cannot be understood without taking full account of the way they were generated: the historical dimension is essential to the analysis (Louisson,1970,12).

The basis of the historical dimension which provides the background for this study is found in the philosophy of the post World War II Australian colonial administration. Mr. E.J. Ward, Australian Minister for External Territories, Colonel J.K. Murray, Administrator of the Territory of Papua New Guinea, and Mr. W.C. Groves, first Director of Education of the Territory jointly expressed the philosophy of Australian involvement in Papua New Guinea as being directed towards

the well-being of the people, particularly in the economic, political and educational areas (Murray, 1969,178).

This is not to imply that there were not other developments nor that these areas were discrete, easily identifiable and mutually exclusive. Many dimensions of the range of activities, both planned and unplanned, undertaken by the Australian administration acted, interacted and reacted one upon the other to eventually become identifiable parts of a more or less coherent but certainly observeable whole. This whole, in retrospect, had a role to play in forging the link between Pidgin, the development of an indigenous nationalist ideology and the expression of Papua New Guinea national unity.

The first of these relates to economics, for it is clear that the desire on the part of the Australian administration to develop Papua New Guinea in the image of Australia included a component which involved a planned shift from an economy based on subsistence agriculture and the exchange of goods to one which involved, for example and among other things, agricultural production for export, large-scale mining for copper and gold and co-operatives. One outcome was rising consumer expectations in the tradition of Western capitalism.

The second area of significance is politics. Again, the desire of Australia, like all colonial powers, to create a political foundation like its own stands out clearly. Although specific policies moved from 'gradualism' to more or less universal political enfranchisement to the creation of an indigenous political elite the objectives of all policies, at least when they were initiated, was a political Papua New Guinea in the tradition of Western democracy.

The third and final dimension of Papua New Guinea's history which has particular relevance here is education. One of the earliest and most forceful policy statements made by the administration related to one major aim--education of the masses in English. The established policies were directed toward realizing this goal.

These three dimensions of Papua New Guinea's historical mosaic provide the background in which to consider the relation of Pidgin to language policy and the country's development of both an embryonic national unity and the attainment of independence in 1975.

Economic Developments

In the economic sphere, early policy based on the presence of a large subsistence sector and a correspondingly small monetary sector

> was concentrated upon persuading the people to make the first long step from the archaic economy of subsistence and barter to a small

> holder cash-crop economy
> (White,1972,168).

To this end the administration encouraged New Guineans to become involved in the cultivating, processing and marketing of cocoa and began the cultivation of coffee in the Highlands. Consistent with the Australian Government's desire to retain virtually all significant economic activity in its own hands native small holders were encouraged but large quantities of leasehold land were made available to white planters. Still, there was a basic 'partnership' approach which, initially at least, appeared to work.

> In both cocoa and coffee districts Australians provided the commercial initiative and technical help and supervisiion necessary to put and keep New Guinean planters in business (White,1972,169).

To encourage these associative activities the Administration, in 1948, established co-operatives which were 'primary associations' for the marketing of produce (White,1972,170) as well as a means of concentrating capital and controlling production. New Guineans became, as a result of contact with a wider cash economy, not only sellers of produce but sellers of labour (Epstein, 1973). Many New Guineans become 'labour units' (Rowley,1967,102) indentured to expatriate-owned plantations or simply migrant of their own accord.

The intent of indenture was to provide cheap indigenous labour to work on behalf of expatriate economic interests located in various parts of the territory. Typically, labourers were indentured from one area, shipped to another to work for a set period of time and eventuallly shipped back home. The system was enormously advantageous financially to the expatriates and came to be seen as necessary and unavoidable in order to develop Papua New Guinea's resources (White, 1972,118). Nevertheless, indenture, coupled with the movement of Papua New Guineans who were migrant of their own accord due to their new involvement in a cash economy, resulted in significant numbers of the population going to work in areas which had workers from many other areas throughout the territory. The relevance and necessity of Pidgin to these workers and, indeed, their overseers, was to have a profound effect on the means by which the indigenous population heard and understood the message from their own leaders about the nature and condition of Papua New Guinean society, and what could be done about it.

Other economic policies contributed directly to the initial stages of the formation of a sense of Papua New Guinea national unity rather than to language unity <u>per se</u>. The <u>Foot Report</u> of 1962, for example, recommended that the International Bank For Reconstruction and

Development conduct a survey of the economic potential of the Territory with a view to establishing a policy and planning a programme "which would make possible the evolution of a self-supporting national community" (White,1972,198). This was done throughout 1963 and in 1964 the Report of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development was released. Its major policy recommendation was for continued and increased Australian grants and loans.

> With education and training, the indigenous people can take on increasing roles in the economy and government, and the natural resources of the Territory are considerable. However, the moulding of the human and natural resources into a modern economy will take great effort, time and money. Financial support from Australia -- which now covers two thirds of the Territory's expenditures -- will need to be continued and even increased (White, 1972,198).

Injections of financial aid were seen as not only an economic necessity but as part of the process of creating a unified, to whatever degree, Papua New Guinea.

Similarly, the cooperative movement, which encouraged a degree of economic association, involved many of the indigenous population at least marginally but certainly initially in a movement which placed the emphasis, in the interest of financial exigency, on collaboration and association. In spite of the fact that the movement was considered to have failed by 1972 in

that it was felt that without Australian supervision the movement could not function (White,1972) co-operatives provided one of the few focal points for the minority of the population who were most directly involved in the cash economy.

Australia's philosophy of economic development in Papua New Guinea has been sharply summed up by Peter Hastings (1973), who notes that

> the Administration's approach to indigenous participation [in the economy] has been fundamentally to strengthen European economic supremacy (80).

Such economic inequity was to prove a rich ground for the development and growth of indigenous political expressions of dissatisfaction with the prevailing status quo.

Political Developments

The first real effort to put the Australian vision of political development for post-war Papua New Guinea into practice and the first suggestion of a significant change to the prevailing status quo was the passing of the Papua New Guinea Act of 1949. The Act merged Papua and New Guinea into one administrative territory for the first time and "provided the embryo of a democratic constitution for the territory and laid down the foundation for the political advancement of the native people" (Todd,1974,35). It was the "first major break

from the completely colonial type of government to a representative democratic system of administration" (37).

The first manifestation of a representative type of government, the Territory Legislative Council (LEGCO), was not, however, notably representative. It consisted of the Administrator, 16 Official Members (Australian Department Heads with status equivalent to Ministers in the Territory), 6 expatriates appointed from business, planting, and mission interests, 3 elected 'Europeans' and 3 natives appointed as non-official members (Hastings,1973,131;Cleland,1969,216). Roughly 90% of the representation, then, was Australian. Nevertheless, an administrative structure had been established and a rapid expansion of expenditure, staff, and activity had begun (Parker,1966,193).

The underlying policy formulated by Paul Hasluck, then Minister of Territories in the Australian government, was one of 'gradualism' which rejected the notion of creating an elite and looked towards the growth of stable and representative political institutions based on the ideal of uniform development of all areas of the territory. This ideal was expressed at the local level through the extension of the pre-war system of village administration through appointed luluais -- village or tribal chiefs appointed by the government -- and village constables, and the creation and encouragement of Local

Government Councils (LGCs). These Councils were, similar to the intent of co-operatives in the economic sphere,

> grass roots institutions to overcome traditional New Guinean fragmentation and a means of imparting political education through formation of a broad base of local government on which the eventual pyramid of a national government structure might be erected (Hastings,1973,124).

The first LGC was established in Hanuabada near the capital, Port Moresby, in 1950. It represented roughly 3500 people (Rumens,1972) but within a year there were five such councils representing 18,000 Papua New Guineans. Although small in absolute numbers the base was nevertheless laid for the initial venture of New Guineans into at least some degree of involvement in their own political institutions outside of the traditional. It now remained to build a more representative structure on the base provided, for "fifteen years after the end of World War II...Papua New Guinea was still governed by a quasi-colonial system" (Todd,1974,38).

Building was begun in 1960 with a number of amendments to the Papua New Guinea Act 1949 allowing enlargement of the Legislative Council (Cleland, 1969) in 1961. The new Council consisted of the Administrator, 14 Official members, 10 appointed, non-official members of whom at least 50% had to be Papua New Guineans, 6 elected expatriates and 6 Papua New Guineans chosen through an

electoral college whose members had been elected by Local Government Councils. Although there were an estimated 60 LGCs extant by 1960, qualifications for an elector selected by an LGC to elect Papua New Guineans for the 1961 Legislative Council were such that Papua New Guineans were excluded.

While still not notably representative, Papua New Guineans now had 30% of the seats as compared to 10% in 1951, and the Australian representation, albeit still the most powerful, was down from 90% to 70%. This was "a definite move towards more native democratic representation" (Todd,1974,38). However,

> The situation was really quite absurd. It cast doubts on the intentions of the Australian government to promote democratic development in Papua New Guinea. The intentions of the Australian Government were honest enough, but the political and economic pressures of the "New Guinea Lobby", consisting of a section of the planters and businessmen, were so powerful that it befogged the judgement of the Department of External Territories and the Liberal Country Party coalition government in Canberra (38).

This was noted by the 1962 United Nations Visiting Mission, headed by Sir Hugh Foot (Lord Caradon), which regarded Australian policies of all kinds, including those relevant to language, in Papua New Guinea as being "far too paternalistic in approach to the urgent requirements of education, political development and

representative government" (Hastings,1973,132). This was expressed in the Foot Report which recommended that

> Australia should immediately abandon the Hasluck ideal of creating a democracy based on literacy and general enlightenment, and get on with the business of selectively training an indigenous elite to which the responsibilities of leadership could be handed as quickly as possible (White,1972,179-180).

The report also criticized heavily the number of expatriate officers in the Public Service and was particularly against the continuation of the practice of permanent appointment of Australians to service in Papua New Guinea. Not only was this the beginning of short term appointments in practice, it was also the beginning of some degree of insecurity on the part of those Australians in the service of the Territory due to the sudden instability of their jobs (Parker,1968,209).

Another direct result of the Foot Report and its recommendation that Australia "should make more rapid, radical changes in the Papua New Guinea constitution" (Todd,1974,40) was the appointment of a Select Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. G.T. Gunther, to tour the territory and attempt to define the form which these changes should take. The Report had recommended, for instance, that the Legislature be enlarged to 100 members, that these members could be elected by a common roll system and that the number of official members (15,

counting the Administrator) be substantantially reduced. As a result of the committee's deliberation on their findings a 'half-way stop' between the Foot Report suggestions and the existing composition of the Legislative Council was recommended (Todd,1974,40).

The result was a 1963 amendment to the Papua New Guinea Act 1949 from which derived the first House of Assembly of 64 members in 1964. This was composed of 10 official members, 10 special (Europeans only) seats and 44 open electorates for which both Europeans and Papua New Guineans could run (Parker and Wolfers,1971,20). To the open seats available in 1964, 6 Europeans, 2 mixed race, and 36 Papua New Guineans were elected. Of the 38 'local' (Papua New Guinean and mixed-race) members elected, 31 were from the Highlands and New Guinea; 7 were from the Papuan coast.

In spite of this significant increase in indigenous political participation the irony, however, was that while 20 European seats were absolutely guaranteed, Papua New Guineans were guaranteed none (Hastings, 1973,135). Nevertheless, the political foundation had been broadened.

> Yet even if the first Parliament was neither truly representative nor democratic it was nevertheless the prototype of an institution through which the spokesman for powerful tribal groups would eventually find expression. Its election was the point of no return. For better or

> worse, a design had been adopted for the political foundation of a new nation in the South-West Pacific (White,1972,189-190).

Within this design there was, however, a notable lack of activity with regards to the emergence of indigenous political parties (Pora,1973). This was so because of

> a tacit European conspiracy to prevent the emergence of political parties and institutions, not invariably from an undemocratic dislike of them as such but from an innate fortified conviction that it had always been 'too early' (Hastings,1973,123).

The first indigenous-led party did not appear until 1965 when the New Guinea United National Party (NGUNP) was formed under the leadership of Oala-Oala Rarua (Hastings,1973), an assistant to Gunther in the Department of Administration, an active trade unionist, and President of the Port Moresby Workers' Association from 1962 until 1967 (Steinbauer,1974,53).

Papua New Guineans took very little interest in this first venture into party politics but the expatriate community were vehement against it, labelling its members 'communists' and 'homosexuals' (Hastings,1973,126). Rarua was considered a radical and Special Branch police -- a kind of political security force -- regularly attended meetings of the party and took notes on who was there and what was being said (Parker and Wolfers,

1971,30). Under this kind of pressure the party soon folded, but arose later newly named the 'Committee of Thirteen'.

This committee was composed mostly of Papuans as they, because of a longer period of contact than New Guineans, felt resentment toward the Australian government earliest (Hastings,1973,127). Both White (1972) and Hastings (1973) note the intensity of this groups attack on Canberra, which was accused of being "autocratic, unrealistic and inflexible" (Hastings, 1973,128). The committee called for

1. home rule by 1968 as a transitional step toward self-government.
2. a House of Assembly elected on the basis of universal sufferage
3. a Ministerial form of government
4. abolition of the European only 'Special' seats in the House
5. a reduction in the number of official members
6. the replacement of the Office of the Administrator with that of a High Commissioner
7. more rapid localization of the public service

(White,1973;Hastings,1973)

The emergence of the committee shook the Australians badly, as did the comment of Rarua published in The New Guinea Quarterly:

> The majority of Australians who come up to the territory are the wrong types, who would find it hard to get the sort of money or do the job they are doing here if they remained in Australia...(White,1972,203).

The Committee and Papua New Guineans in general were accused of impertinence, ingratitude, publicity seeking and being communists (White,1972,197). Nevertheless, the Committee of Thirteen became the progenitor of the first viable political party in Papua New Guinea --the Papua New Guinea Union (PANGU) (Parker and Wolfers,1971) -- and the first organized indigenous expression of a national political ideology.

Responding to the Committee of Thirteens' and subsequently PANGUs' concerns, the administration established a Select Committee on Constitutional Development composed of nine indigenous and six expatriate members. This committee was headed by John Guise, the doyen of Papua New Guinea politics, and was charged with the task of touring the country-side and coming up with ideas for the composition of the second House of Assembly to be formed in 1968 (Todd,1974).

Among other findings, the Committee noted that "the tendency to think on a local or village level, rather than a national level, may have the effect of hindering

the development of a sense of national unity" (Parker and Wolfers,1971,37). PANGU, perhaps reacting to this public and prestigious statement, re-affirmed all of the Committee of Thirteen's demands and added three significant ones of their own:

1. participation of Papua New Guineans in all development schemes.
2. the construction of a road from Papua to New Guinea.
3. the utilization of Pidgin as 'the common principal language' and its adoption as a second official language (Hastings,1973,129).

The first forceful indigenous expression of a desire for national unity based on a common language other than English had emerged.

PANGU, under the leadership of Michael Somare, who had helped form the NGUNP and was a member of the Committee of Thirteen (Steinbauer,1974), was, as a result of these demands, perceived as a threat to the colonial status quo and reaction to this was manifested by the emergence of political parties, often with expatriate leadership, to oppose Somare's rather shakey but nevertheless viable and enthusiastic party. Virtually all of these opposition parties were ineffective both in their opposition to PANGU and in becoming viable political entities themselves (Hastings,1973).

Still, some Europeans saw PANGU as at least an initial step in the right direction: "as the rapid assumption of political power by New Guineans was inevitable it was time for New Guineans to start learning the art of Government even if they made mistakes" (Hastings,1973,129).

The second, 1968, House was composed of 10 Official Members, 15 members of Regional Electorates (who, for the first time, had to meet minimum educational requirements) and 69 members of Open Electorate. Indigenous representation had increased to roughly 75% while expatriate representation had dropped to 25%, a substantial shift from the first House of just four years previously.

Pangu's successes in the 1968-1972 House were few, however, due primarily to opposition from the independents and "partly because of conservative fears of PANGU's 'radical' policies" (Steinbauer,1974,17). In spite of this, preparations for an election in 1972 of a semi-ministerial form of government, as recommended by the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, and based on a system of political parties, were begun.

Throughout the stormy period of this second House the 'grass roots institutions' of Local Government Councils continued to increase. From 1963 to 1969, for instance, the number of Councils had risen from 73 to 144

and membership had increased from 700,000 to 1,998,000 (Rumens,1972). New Guineans at all levels and in all parts of the Territory were becoming more familiar with and more aware of the processes of government.

Reflecting this, an expanded House of Assembly was elected in 1972. It was comprised of 6 'European' seats (including 4 Official) and 94 seats open to Papua New Guineans. Of the 100 seats 92 were 'open', while 18 were 'special', requiring a minimum educational standard before they could be contested. Not only was indigenous representation in government increased, the general educational level of the representatives had increased as well since 1968.

Table II: Educational Background of Members of the House of Assembly, 1968 and 1972

Education	1968	1972
None	42.5%	28.5%
Primary	25.5%	31%
Secondary	27%	28.5%
Post-secondary	5%	12%

(Stone,1976)

After a hard-fought campaign involving four parties (PANGU, the United Party, The People's Progress Party and the National Party) the election resulted in an unclear result as to who had actually won (Steinbauer,1974). After much lobbying prior to the first sitting, a National Coalition Government was formed under the leadership of Michael Somare who became the first Chief Minister of Papua New Guinea.

The formation of the Third House had its foundation in comments made in 1970 by John Gorton, then Prime Minister of Australia, who had stated in Port Moresby that "we have reached a stage of political developments inside the territory at which there are vocal demands for progress, or at least demands for changes, in various fields" (1970,3).

Having made this recognition, Gorton, along with C.E. Barnes, the Minister for External Territories, promised

1. continuing Australian support in the form of grants-in-aid to be administered by Papua New Guinea.
2. transfer of administrative power to New Guinea members who were Ministerial Members.
3. aid in the form of development grants to be administered by Australia.
4. pay of expatriates to come entirely from Australia.

Given these assurances, or perhaps in recognition of them, PANGU formulated a political manifesto which asked for "progressive advancement towards independence through self-government" (Todd,1974,57).

Thus, an indigenously articulated demand for real political power and responsibility, based on indigenous

representation in the Territorial Government and directed toward an indigenous electorate increasingly familiar with the mechanics of politics and government was realized. Papua New Guinea was granted self-government in 1974 and obtained full formal independence from Australia in September of 1975.

Educational Developments

The period from World War II to Papua New Guinean independence in 1975 also saw changes in education concurrent with developments in the economic and political spheres.

The Department of Education was formed in 1946 under the directorship of W.C. Groves who set the tone of the colonial attitudes relating to education by initiating an educational plan which had as its major component the teaching of English.

Grove's vision of the process whereby indigenous children would learn English was based on a foundation of 'village vernacular schools' upon which the acquisition of English would be built (Smith,1975,26). Although recognizing the efficacy of vernaculars, a notable recognition in 1946, Groves was unable to develop strategies which would allow the process he envisaged to develop and become effective due primarily to the fact that he left the curriculum up to each individual

teacher, causing confusion, duplication of effort and general disorganization (Smith,1975,26).

This unfortunate situation provided the initial justification for and lead the administration to the decision to adopt an educational policy which advocated and utilized in all government-run schools the use of English only.

> For the Department of Education personnel this issue was conclusively resolved: there was to be no place for the teaching of vernaculars in the administration schools and, by implication, in the schools operated by volunteer organizations (McElhanon,1975,281).

This attitude and statement notwithstanding, there was a policy which permitted vernacular education in the first two years of elementary school and there was no overt "suppression of vernaculars" (McElhanon,1974,281). However, there were restrictions which essentially and very effectively precluded teaching in any vernacular:

1. English must be taught concurrently with vernaculars.
2. The vernacular must be endemic to the area in which it is taught.
3. Teachers must be competent to teach the vernacular.
4. A full syllabus for the vernacular must be prepared and then approved by the Syllabus Development Committee.

> 5. There must be evidence that adequate vernacular reading material is available to the end of the second year (McElhanon,1974,282).

The clear intent was that there was to be no official sanction of schools which did not function in English. On this basis, the policy of 'gradualism' as outlined by the Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, was "reflected in relatively slow expansion aimed at ultimately providing universal primary education" (Rumens,1972,82) and universal literacy in English (Murray,1969). There was no official thought given, at this time, to educating an indigenous elite.

By 1954 government or 'recognized' schools numbered 85 and in 1955 Hasluck issued "an authoritative statement defining educational policy" which noted the following:

> 1. First attention to be given to primary schools with the goal of teaching all children in controlled areas [Controlled by Europeans. 'Restricted' areas were portions of the country not yet 'pacified' by European interests and persons were forbidden to enter them without a protective patrol] to read and write in English.
> 2. For the above purpose, efforts to be made to ensure the cooperation of the Christian Missions, and special attention to be given to teacher training.
> 3. Manual training and technical training to be developed both in conjunction with the primary schools and in special schools in response to the developing needs of the people (Smith, 1975,31).

What was viewed as 'the problem' of missions using vernaculars or Pidgin as a medium of instruction

(Spate,1966,119) was dealt with by "[refusing] assistance to mission schools (the major element in the Territory's primary and secondary educational system) that do not teach in English" (Wolfers,1971,414). Such schools were termed 'unrecognized' while administration and non-administration schools which used English as the medium of instruction were 'recognized' and were eligible for government subsidization (Smith,1975).

By 1958, however, in spite of the lack of government subsidies, it was apparent that the 'unrecognized' schools were educating far more children in Pidgin or a vernacular than the 'recognized' schools were educating in English.

Table III: Indigenous School Enrolment, 1958

Type of School	Number
Administration Primary	14,510
'Recognized' Mission	48,000
'Unrecognized'	100,000

(Smith,1975,33)

Also in 1958 Mr. G.T. Roscoe, Hasluck's Chief Assistant, was named Director of Education. His plan was to raise total enrolments to 400,000 in 'recognized' schools but due to 'high wastage' rates in the lower grades, limitations on the number of candidates available for teacher training, high costs of facilities and a shortage of teachers the target number was not reached (Smith,1975,34). Universal primary education and literacy in English were proving to be elusive.

Nevertheless, the combined Administration and 'recognized' Mission educational programme was effective to a degree, at least in quantity:

Table IV: Increase in School Population, 1951-1961

Year	'Recognized'	Government	Total
1951	132,000	4,000	136,000
1961	134,000	73,000	207,000

(White,1972,164)

Quality, however, was generally disparate from quantity.

> Most primary schools were small, staffed by one or two teachers and with classes at the lower grade levels only. Less than one-third of the children who began primary school could expect to complete it. The vast majority of teachers had only the sixth grade of primary schooling themselves before they began a years course in teacher training (Smith,1975,35).

Low quality notwithstanding, during the 1950's a broad educational base was laid. However,

> The laying of a broad foundation was a creditable achievement but the urgent task of the 1960's under [L.W.] Johnson and later K.R. Mckinnon was to raise the quality of the system (Smith,1975,35).

This recognition of the necessity of a quality system was reflected also by the Foot Report of 1962 which 'radically insisted' that the secondary education system be expanded and tertiary level education initiated. As a result of this suggestion from the

United Nations coupled with the resulting Report of the Commission on Higher Education of 1964 there was

> Growing awareness that political and economic development required educated leaders and a trained workforce [which] resulted in dramatic expansion of education in the 1960's; and, although the aim of primary education was not abandoned, emphasis changed and post-secondary education burgeoned (Rumens,1972,82).

The Administration initiated a 'crash' programme of educational development in the non-primary sector, with a concomitant increase in educational spending. Still, by 1962, there were only 3 secondary schools and by 1964 there were a mere 66 graduates from them (Smyth,1977,4). In 1966 there were 290 Papua New Guineans in post-secondary education (Smith,1975,37).

In spite of these limited numbers expansion of the secondary sector did take place in both government and non-government schools.

Table V: Government High School Enrolment, 1967-1969

Year	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Total
1967	2,701	2,042	1,296	483	6,522
1968	3,139	2,354	1,566	584	7,643
1969	3,191	2,954	1,605	839	8,589

(Secondary Planning Group,1970,14)

Table VI: Non-Government High School Enrolment, 1967-1969

Year	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Total
1967	2,200	1,497	788	244	4,729
1968	2,403	1,930	1,056	378	5,767
1969	2,739	2,119	1,243	542	6,643

(Secondary Planning Group,1970,16)

Although these increases "provide one index of qualitative improvement in the system" (Smith,1975,37) there were criticisms of the low quality of the entire system -- particularly the primary which had large numbers of poorly qualified teachers producing large numbers of poor quality students (Conroy,1974). In addition, the distribution of the system was somewhat spotty, with virtually 100% enrolment in the Islands, but only 25% in the Highlands.

These criticisms were noted in reports by L.J. Lewis in 1968 and by the Weedon Committee's Report of the Advisory Committee on Education in Papua and New Guinea in 1969. The Weedon Report is held to be directly responsible for the 1970 Education Ordinance which established a "unified education system, the legal structure of which...has a built-in emphasis on quality rather than quantity" (Conroy,1973,147).

Significantly, this change in emphasis was also linked to the "growing awareness of the problem of unemployment among primary school leavers" (Conroy,1973,147), a clear reflection of the administrations policy of retaining all significant economic development in its own hands and indigenous perception of the lack of financial equity between themselves and the Australian expatriates.

The Australian colonial administration had helped to create, through tacit acceptance, a large proportion of the population educationally enfranchised not in English but in Pidgin.

CHAPTER III
PIDGIN AND LANGUAGE POLICY

> the introduction of English...which would seem to have so much potential for the intellectual liberation of the people and the creation of a nation-state may be, for the vast majority, a stumbling block to intellectual growth and a means to keep them in political subjugation to an English-speaking elite (Lewis,1971,22).

Introduction

The changes which were introduced into the economy, the political arena and the educational system between 1950 and 1975 helped to create and continue a generic tension between the Australian administration and its language policies on the one hand and the indigenous movement, both in spite of and because of these policies, toward a unique Papua New Guinean mileau, expressed in Pidgin, on the other.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the area of language policy and its relation to 'Pidginization'--the emergence of an indigenous identification with the language of inter-tribal communication and not with the language of the colonial Australians.

Attitude and Policy

In the tradition of virtually all colonial powers, the Australians in Papua New Guinea attempted to impose their language on the indigenous population. Following

World War II, with its dramatically increased contact between Australians and Papua New Guineans, there occured not only a greater awareness of Pidgin by the expatriates and the Administration, but also a condemnation of it.

Pidgin was viewed primarily as a 'bastard' form of English and was considered "undignified, inadequate and degraded" (UNESCO,1958,115). The Australian brand of English was thought to be vastly superior in quality and the only means by which "a technological society based on the western model...was to be achieved" (Johnson,1975,260).

In 1946 the then Minister of Education, W.C. Groves, stated that he felt that the use and familiarity with languages other than English would make it difficult for the 'natives' to learn English, due to what were perceived to be the limitations of Pidgin.

> clearly...Pidgin [cannot be well] adapted for education beyond the elementary level: there are simply too many modern ways and devices not dreamt of in their philosophies but which Papuans and New Guineans must learn to handle if they are to run their country effectively. [In addition] at any serious level of abstract discourse--and the capacity for abstraction is a vital skill in the modern world--it is by far too concrete and circumlocutory to be of much use. An excellent language in which to say 'Take out the spark plug and clean it', it is of less use in the task of explaining the function of a spark plug as an electrical

> component of an internal combustion engine (Spate,1966,120).

In 1953 the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations further reflected the condemnation of Pidgin by, in the same vein as early German and British policies, demanding that the language be abolished (Hall,1958,24). The first steps to be taken toward the abolition were to institute universal primary education and to utilize English as the sole medium of instruction beginning the first day of school (Johnson,1975,260).

The administration thus established two of its most critical policies: that the majority of the indigenous population would be educated and they would be educated in English. Further, the Australians saw these as clearly obtainable outcomes based on their decisions. In short, saying it would be so would make it so.

However, even though the language policy in both the general and the specific discriminated against Pidgin, there were other forces at work, both formal and informal, planned and unplanned, which made the results of the policy decisions significantly less predictable than the policy-makers had forseen. Foremost among these were other activities in other spheres designed to carry forward the administration's new-found mission, as it were, to create an English-speaking nation based on the 'western', capitalist, democratic model.

Two of the areas of activity which were intended to work in tandem with education and language policies to effect the desired end-result in the unforseeable future relate to

1. the diffusion of Pidgin and the consequent Pidginization of the social, economic and educational structures, and
2. the progressive indigenization and consequent Pidginization of the political structure

The Diffusion of Pidgin

A number of mechanisms and circumstances contributed to the spread of Pidgin among the people of Papua New Guinea, both urban and rural. These mechanisms and circumstances helped to create new environments and contexts in which the use of Pidgin was not only desireable, but inescapable, and confirmed the language's primary role as an inter-tribal means of communication.

1. Indentured Labour:

The indentured labour system and the introduction of a limited cash economy which encouraged the mobility of the working-age population contributed greatly to the diffusion of Pidgin, as did having the technological wherewithal available to be mobile. Just as indenture was seen as a policy unavoidable to the development of Papua New Guinea's economic well-being, so was it

unavoidable that, given the degree of movement and contact with other linguistic groups, Pidgin became more and more necessary.

As Rowley (1967) points out

> Labour experience is the most common first step by individuals towards establishing lines of communication with the great world of Western naturalism which is moulding a world-wide culture (108).

The single most important line of communication in Papua New Guinea was Pidgin, which was becoming the lingua franca of a significant proportion of the population (Hall,1958,24).

The social and linguistic contact imposed on many Papua New Guineans by over one hundred years of indentured labour, varying only in the degree of brutality with which the system was implemented and conducted, inspired and continued the necessity of a lingua franca. Pidgin developed not only in response to the master-servant relationship imposed by the various European and Asian colonialists but, more importantly, in response to the need of the indentured themselves to communicate with one another in diverse contexts.

A whole new range of experiences, albeit aimed at the physical and economic subjugation of the people involved, provided one of the elements which was to coalesce the population around a language and a future which was of their own making.

Another colonial imposition, that of cooperatives, furthered this process and accelerated the development of an indigenous community with a greater amount of linguistic and social homogeneity, although still minimal, than it had ever experienced before.

2. Cooperatives:

The associative philosophy encouraged by even minimal involvement in the post World War II cooperative system effectively and in many cases for the first time crossed traditional tribal boundaries and introduced a new context in which some of the indigenous population began to operate in an economic setting in which Pidgin was both useful and, in many cases, necessary.

Although in the purely economic sense cooperatives were eventually to be seen as minimally, if at all, successful, their most significant effect was not so much the financial rewards or lack of them. Rather, it was the unforseen perception and appreciation by Papua New Guineans that there was a profound and gaping difference between themselves and the Australians in terms of economic and political power.

> The crucial political factor in this situation is the problem of reconciling rapid, indigenous political development with accompanying demands for participation at all levels, and in the increasing concentration of economic power and resources in the expatriate section of the population. An increasing political awareness,

> rising consumer expectations without corresponding economic motivation, and a more articulate and better educated, although still numerically small, elite are combining to create a general indigenous recognition of the vast imbalance existing between expatriate and indigenous living standards (Hastings,1972,71).

This recognition, although expressed through all three media of vernacular, English and Pidgin, furthered the development and refinement of a social consciousness which began to place the emphasis on being Papua New Guinean and aided in the introduction of a new context in which some of the indigenous population could begin to see beyond the village. Pidgin, in the predominantly rural setting of cooperatives, became the major vehicle for expressing this larger view.

The enlargement of the vision and the means by which it was expressed were aided immeasureably by the development of the technological means by which the population became further exposed to one another, to the indigenous economic and political protoelite and to the language which continued to spread more widely and quickly than the Australian administration had forseen.

3. Technological Innovation:

An ever larger proportion of the population became familiar with and fluent in the use of Pidgin through, at least in part, the dissemination of technological innovations in both transportation and communications.

In 1951, for instance, Papua New Guinea had a mere 2756 miles of road (Cleland,1969,223) and was heavily dependent on the use of aircraft for virtually all transportation of personnel and supplies (Murray,1969,195). The introduction and use of aircraft in large quantities allowed more people to cross more traditional boundaries than ever before.

In addition, the territory administration obtained radio receivers 'in considerable numbers' from the Commonwealth Disposals Commission. These receivers were distributed to the departments of Education and Native Affairs. The Australian Broadcasting Commission was approached to establish a service and broadcasts in Police Motu, Motu, a number of vernaculars and Pidgin were begun (Murray,1969). Mihalic (1971) notes that eventually "half a dozen administration radio stations broadcast programmes entirely or to a great extent in Pidgin each day" (xv) and were, in fact, "influencing the idiom" (xv) presumeably towards a greater degree of standardization.

Pidgin then, which had heretofore crossed literal and figurative boundaries only slowly, now had a public forum through which to reach even more of the population ever more rapidly. This new 'accessibility' of Pidgin was complemented by administration policies relevant to

education which further contributed to the Pidginization of the indigenous population.

4. Education Policies:

It was not only through more or less 'public' exposure to the language through increased contact and the introduction of radio receivers that helped significantly the diffusion of Pidgin. The education policies, too, worked to provide a broader base upon which Pidgin could stand and be seen, recognized and utilized. Some aspects of the education policy worked actively against the administration's desire to attain universal literacy in English. Foremost among these was the toleration accorded to 'unrecognized' mission schools which taught largely, and in some cases exclusively, in Pidgin. Both Lutheran and Catholic missions used Pidgin as a medium of instruction and it was employed by the territorial administration

a. as a medium of instruction in technical schools
b. by the Department of Health to teach medical assistants and midwives
c. in the instruction of trainees by the departments of Public Works, Agriculture and Fisheries

d. on informational and instructional posters issued by the Department of Education and various mission societies.

e. in Pidgin newssheets (UNESCO,1958,109).

By 1958 over 60% of the total indigenous enrolment in schools was receiving instruction in a language other than English (Smith,1975,33).

This is not to imply that large numbers of Papua New Guineans were not being taught in and were not learning English. The indigenous population, like their peers in other colonial venues were, for the most part, able to appreciate the social, political and economic value in becoming fluent in the language of their colonizers. There were, as Bacchus (1984,15) notes, "substantial rewards which accompanied formal schooling", particularly, it is implied, if this schooling were in English.

Johnson (1975), Wurm (1971) and Lewis (1971) have all pointed out that English was and is the language of prestige, power and money. And, as Carnoy (1974) has reported, competency in English correlates highly with success in the job market.

Nevertheless, Pidgin was beginning to assume a significantly larger role in both education and daily communication patterns with the tacit approval of the administration, which allowed particularly the religious

missions to operate Pidgin schools on a large scale in spite of the official sanction of English only.

5. Mass Education in Pidgin:

The lead in delivering mass education in Pidgin was provided by the Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches. In the six year period between 1964 and 1970 the Lutherans alone, for example, more than doubled the number of their schools operating in Pidgin and similarly involved nearly twice as many pupils in their system (Zinkel,1971,53).

Even with low teacher ability, financial constraints and other problems

> one is impressed by the level of communication in Pidgin. This assessment must record that the ability to read, write and comprehend communications in Pidgin is of a high level considering the amount of time they have studied the language. Pupils and teachers are able to speak in a rather free-flowing way with a degree of emphasis and clarity that is rarely seen in Papua New Guineans who have been taught for a similar number of years in English (UNESCO,1958,109).

In spite of the fact that "Pidgin had been officially banned from all accredited primary and secondary schools...it [kept] right on extending deeper into the Highlands and Papua" (Mihalic,1971,iii). Mihalic also suggests that Pidgin was, by 1971, working its way up to creole status in that "Hundreds of boys and girls born and bred in the main Territory centres are now using it as their first language" (xv).

The mass education provided by the missions and the subsequent Pidginization of an ever greater proportion of the indigenous population added to the new and revised contexts in which the language was relevant and necessary and strengthened the role of Pidgin as a conduit for inter-tribal communication.

> It seems then, that...New Guinea Pidgin is today a genuine language in that it is being used as an effective medium for thought and communication; and that it can no longer be rightly regarded as only a trade language, a degenerate or bastard form of English, but rather as a new, inter-tribal vernacular (UNESCO,1958,109).

Large numbers of people were becoming skilled and literate in Pidgin through a variety of official and unofficial, recognized and unrecognized mechanisms. The significance of this lies not only in the fact that the use of a particular language was becoming more widespread, but also in the fact that mass education in Papua New Guinea, as elsewhere, became

> a prime source of differences in political perspectives across large populations. The more highly educated are more aware of the impact of government and are more likely to consider themselves free to engage in political discussions and competent to influence governmental affairs; they possess the keys to political participation and involvement (Parker and Wolfers,1971,31).

These acknowledgements of the relevance and veracity of Pidgin in the face of the substantial Pidginization of

the population at all social and economic levels throughout the Territory were accompanied by an increase in the strength and direction of the progressive indigenization and Pidginization of the political structure. The Papua New Guinean urban protoelite provided parallel background political pressure to complement the diffusion of Pidgin to new contexts and, indeed, provided a new context of their own.

Background Indigenous Political Activity

The slow broadening of the political foundation provided, in part, by the broadening of the educational foundation involved many Papua New Guineans for the first time in a political process relevant to the nation as a whole. The first steps toward the development of a Papua New Guinea national consciousness were taken by such individuals as Oala Oala Rarua and his New Guinea United Nationalist Party (NGUNP). By the time of the second House of Assembly (1968-1972) the Papua New Guinea Union (PANGU), under the leadership of Michael Somare, had at least the potential to become national.

One component of this ability to become a national party was PANGU's ability to address its constituents in Pidgin and, more importantly, be understood by large numbers of the population, both urban and rural.

In order to facilitate this PANGU suggested to the Administration that Pidgin be made the official language

of the country as it was becoming to be identified as a "sort of proto-nationalistic means of distinguishing New Guineans from merely Europeans, and, less frequently, Papuans (Wolfers,1971,418). Further, in the 1968 House of Assembly the use of Pidgin was virtually universal among the indigenous members and many of the elected expatriate members used it as well.

> Many a well-prepared speech in English is interrupted by a shouted request to speak in Pidgin instead (Wolfers,1971,418).

The linguistic composition of the House well-reflected the growth of the use and influence of Pidgin in political matters. Of the 64 members of the second House of Assembly

57 (89%) spoke Pidgin

7 (11%) spoke no Pidgin

41 (63%) spoke English

13 (20%) spoke Motu

12 (19%) spoke Pidgin, Motu and English

1 (1.5%) spoke none of Pidgin, English or Motu

21 of the 57 (36.8%) Pidgin speakers spoke Pidgin only

32.8% of the entire House spoke only Pidgin (Hull,1969,22)

Of the Papua New Guinean population 10 years of age and over in 1968

33% utilized Pidgin

13% utilized English

7% utilized both

54% utilized neither
(Parker and Wolfers,1971,35)

Hull further points out, to counter the traditional criticism of the circumlocutory nature of Pidgin (White,1972,163), that the language is quite capable of dealing with any situation that arises in the House (23) and that it is always used when members want support.

> Suprisingly, there is no demonstrated contempt for Pidgin among the members. It is usual among Europeans and Papuans who know little or nothing of the language to condemn it. In the House, all those who can willingly express themselves in Pidgin (Hull,1969,28).

This accessibility and, indeed, respectability, of Pidgin prompted Wurm (1966) to note that Papua New Guineans were

> beginning to develop something akin to a nationalistic pride in Pidgin and [they] do not regard it as a means of social supression, but rather as a means of self-identification (17).

Mihalic (1971) too notes that "Melanesian Pidgin English" (xv), with the sponsorship of PANGU, is a potential national language of the territory and "despite his admiration for and use of English, the New Guinean does not identify with it. English will remain a status symbol, a prestigious language..." (xv).

> [Pidgin], then, whatever one may agree as to its intrinsic merits, has revolutionized New Guinea society. It has broken down old barriers, and allowed for direct inter-racial and inter-language group communication where this was not previously possible. It has made a national radio news service feasible, and a newspaper, the Nu Gini Toktok, available to the relatively unsophisticated. The Pidgin has been one of the most important elements in the Territory's slow and hesitant groping towards nationhood (Wolfers,1971,418-419).

The pace of this slow and hesitant groping rapidly accelerated and its direction become more coherently focussed when twelve indigenous students verbalized to a United Nations Visiting Commission in 1968 a desire for a national identity in their own vision, not that of their colonizers.

The Niugini--the Pidginized spelling of 'New Guinea'-- Black Power Submission stated that a black Niuginian was a

> colonized being deprived of the real political and economic powers with which to plan and execute a programme of self-development (Nelson,1972,183).

Included in the submission were demands for an all black House of Assembly, creation of New Guinea citizenship, direct representation at the United Nations, and "universal education with less emphasis on English" (183).

The 'Black Power' group, in addition to utilizing the name 'Niugini' as a generic and indigenous reference to the nation, claimed to have as its purpose a stimulation of effective nationalism and that 'mere forms' such as a central government, a flag, and a name were minor when compared to "a form of nationalism likely to influence behavior" (Nelson,1972,183).

In order to further Papua New Guinean national unity consistent with this vision, there arose the beginnings of concerted and organized advocacy to place more emphasis on Pidgin in the schools. The suggestion was made that Pidgin primary schools be given more consideration and emphasis and that "perhaps the primary purpose of the first years of education would be to develop a common language and a common spirit of nationalism" (Zinkel,1971,55). It was further recommended, among other things, that

> If the government of Papua New Guinea cannot afford to expand English medium schools at this stage it should at least recognize the potential contribution Pidgin schools can make to the country at this stage of its development. People can become literate in Pidgin. Literate citizens are an asset to the nation. Both government and private enterprise can assist the development of a common language and national unity by sharing in the cost of printing teaching materials and the cost of training Pidgin teachers (Zinkel,1971,35-36).

The language of Pidgin and the philosophy of nationalism were now becoming inextricably linked -- national unity seemed always to be discussed within the context of Pidgin and, in this context at least, English assumed a secondary role. That the role of English was secondary has been pointed out by Nelson (1972) who notes the "eclectic and directionless" mien of government schools "in terms of the national identity they transmit" (179).

The Director of Education, K.R. McKinnon, was, in 1968, put under pressure by indigenous District Education Boards to recognize Pidgin (Nelson,1972). Although declining to respond positively to this suggestion the Director did acknowledge that Pidgin was linked indivisibly with the "political means for the resolution of questions of educational priority (Nelson,1972,89) and that the selection of these priorities would be "on the basis of attitudes and values distinctly New Guinean" (90).

Thus was made an acknowledgement on the part of the colonial authorities that

1. Pidgin was tied to the initiation, formulation and articulation of Papua New Guinea development and national policy
2. the expression of nationalism in Pidgin and the nature of a nationalist ideology

would be for practical purposes uniquely Papua New Guinean

These considerations point out at least two of the possible range of results of the diffusion of Pidgin and the evolution of indigenous political power:

1. the Pidginization, or development of a speech community, of the Territory, and
2. a shift in attitude on the part of the Australians toward both Pidgin and its significance to the people of Papua New Guinea.

The Emergence of a Pidgin Speech Community

A speech community based on Pidgin rather than the exclusive use of vernaculars or, for that matter, English, had emerged and begun to coalesce the population more concretely around the concept of being Papua New Guinean. The formulation, definition and articulation of a social and political consciousness which heretofore had been largely unknown and incomprehensible was thus manifested -- through Pidgin.

> Pidgin exhibited
>
> > a strong emotional appeal to many Papua New Guineans -- as a means of Papua New Guinea self-identification and the vehicle for nationalistic self-expression (Wurm,1971,8).

It was not a necessity that everyone speak the language, for the speech community is defineable and

coherent in the absence of a common tongue. The political and economic aspirations and the feeling of 'Niuginian-ness' were, however, furthered by the presence and use of Pidgin. The use of Pidgin in the social, economic and political life of the larger community provided a focal point for 'being a Papua New Guinean', just as Swahili provided the focal point for 'Tanganyikan-ness', Hausa for 'Northern-ness' and Arabic for 'Arab-ness'.

The single most important constituent of 'being Papua New Guinean' was belonging to the speech community of Pidgin, a speech community which manifested itself as much in spite of as because of the policies formulated by the colonial government of the Australians.

> the single most important element in the socialization of many New Guineans, as New Guineans, is the learning of Pidgin. It is Pidgin more often than English that helps to break down the old barriers between once hostile communities, that makes communication possible not only with Europeans but with other-language-speaking New Guineans too (Wolfers,1971,413).

The Australians, for their part and in recognition of the extensiveness and relevance of Pidgin, began to verbalize a different attitude toward the language, the people of Papua New Guinea and their future than had previously been exhibited.

Attitude Change

Emerging from the range of activities, or lack of them, which involved Papua New Guineans in linguistically new social, cultural, economic and ultimately political contexts, was a growing awareness on the part of the administration that Pidgin was ever more required in order to listen and speak to the greatest possible number of people.

In 1958, for example, Dr. John Gunther, an assistant administrator in the territorial government, had stated that

> There is a crying need for mass education and those who persist in using Pidgin English...are thoughtless or are conceited... (Hastings,1973,141).

Yet eight years later, in 1966, Mr. D.O. Hay, then the Territory Administrator, used Pidgin in his public addresses. The motivation for the utilization of Pidgin was rooted in necessity:

> the need to communicate in the one language understood by a large number of people (Hastings,1973,141).

At least a portion of the administration was beginning to see that Pidgin was effective in crossing many of the barriers to communication.

This realization, coupled with the previously outlined shifts in the economic, political and educational spheres toward, if nothing else, more

indigenous participation in a variety of activities, precipitated a suggestion which questioned the validity of English as the sole official medium of instruction and considered Pidgin as a potential component of national cohesiveness and unity.

> The selection of the medium of instruction in schools will ultimately be decided by Papuans and New Guineans when they become an independent nation. Pidgin...[as a common lingua franca] is essential to unify Papua and New Guniea (Zinkel,1971,55).

This suggestion was a definitive shift in attitude away from the "Teach them English, English and more English...I would condemn those who do not use English.... (Hastings,1973,141) sympathies of J.D. Gunther, for example, and pointed out that the Australian colonial administration was beginning to realize the pervasive influence of Pidgin. Whether the administration would actually implement the suggestion to utilize Pidgin as the medium of instruction or not is of only secondary importance when compared with the fact that the suggestion was made and heard by those who would, for the first time in most cases, listen with any real degree of understanding or appreciation of this as a reasonable course of action. In point of fact the Australians did not at this time, nor did they up to the end of the period of colonial rule, alter their policy of English only.

Nevertheless, the articulation of an idea which did not automatically presuppose the inherent superiority of English in educational and, by extension, social, cultural, economic and political affairs recognized that Pidgin was beginning to become

> the vehicle of a new pattern of ideas which coalesce[d] along the cultural frontier (Rowley,1967,109).

The 'new pattern of ideas' embraced the directions in which Papua New Guineans wanted to go as well as the means by which they could get there. The nation's development was now as much in the hands of the indigenous population, speaking Pidgin, as it had been in the hands of the Australians.

CONCLUSIONS

> Language policy may be interwoven with political and other processes that operate on the basis of bargaining, compromising, influencing and the like (Rubin and Jernudd,1971,293).

Based on 'other processes'--formal, informal and serendipitous--a series of shifts occurred at a number of levels within the societal, economic, technological, educational and linguistic infrastructure of Papua New Guinea which allowed Pidgin to assume a critical and pivotal role in the definition of Papua New Guinea in spite of the official policy which sanctioned English only.

The language policies implemented by the colonial administration were aimed at defining the direction and pace of development and social change as they applied to Papua New Guineans. The process of Pidginization, however, intervened to alter that direction and pace and to lead ultimately to indigenous suggestions for change based on their own perceptions and expressed through Pidgin.

> ...its [Pidgins'] present socially pervading and linguistically highly elaborate state are the direct consequence of the social situations brought into being by colonial and post-colonial administrations. At the same time, its penetration into most parts of Papua New Guinea, especially in recent years, has been achieved almost exclusively through

> its use as an inter-tribal lingua franca in such new social situations, and not through its use in master-servant relationships (Wurm,1971,76).

The post World War II policies of the administration were directed primarily toward the domination and exploitation of the population and, public rhetoric notwithstanding, only secondarily toward improving the physical, spiritual and intellectual lot of these people. The unanticipated side-effects of some policies, the tacit acceptance of an alternate, larger educational system utilizing Pidgin, and the emergence of new contexts in which Pidgin was necessary and acceptable, provided the means by which a proportion of traditional Papua New Guinean society underwent significant and lasting change.

> ...change in [Papua New Guinea] came about not only because [Pidgin was] used by categories of speakers who [had] never used it before, but also because it [was] now used in social situations for which it was previously inappropriate [or simply non-existent] (Gal,1979,3).

Australian language policy in Papua New Guinea led, then, to a degree of cohesiveness, as expected, of the indigenous population. The unexpected, however, was that Pidgin provided the focus for this cohesiveness--not English.

Perhaps this is best explained by the following:

1. Pidgin effectively crossed all geographical, territorial, tribal, occupational, social status, economic, political and linguistic boundaries.
2. Pidgin was not the language of the dominant colonial power. In spite of the fact that access to higher status and a favourable economic position were recognizeably and admittedly through English, in many instances in order to communicate effectively with Papua New Guineans the Australians had to use Pidgin not only on the sugar and coffee plantations and in the mines but in their own representation to the major formal vehicle of participatory democracy -- the House of Assembly.
3. Pidgin was not the language of a dominant, or a minority, indigenous group. Unlike the difficulties encountered in, for example, India, where an indigenous language is perceived as equal to English in its potential for domination, Pidgin was neither an indigenous language nor, until much later, a mother tongue to any group in Papua New Guinea. As has been

> the experience with, for example, Bahasa Indonesia, one of the most positive attributes of Pidgin in this context is that it bridges many of the cultural divisions among many diverse groups and thus dimishes conflict and some of the problems of national communication.

The planners and policy makers in a sense defeated their own purposes by establishing and implementing policy decisions which actively encouraged or at least did not discourage activities on the part of the Papua New Guinean population which worked against, particularly, the established language and education policies.

To be fair, however, it must also be pointed out that the administration was a victim of unanticipated results. Consistent with much planning and policy-making the decision-makers could not forsee the end result of all their policy decisions nor could they anticipate fully where a single policy decision might lead not only themselves but the indigenous people as well.

The spread of Pidgin, through colonial policies which made it necessary, through developments which made it inescapable and through societal changes which made it, despite intentions to the contrary, imperative

> ...swung the focus of attention from the needs and demands of the

individual village to the needs of the country as a whole (Louisson,1970,12).

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purposes of this study have been to

1. present some of the solutions, both accidental and mandated, to language issues as they relate to national unity and language policy as they refer to specific countries.
2. provide an historical overview of economic, political and educational events in Papua New Guinea to 1975 which co-occured with language events and provide the context for examining the relation between Pidgin, Papua New Guinean national unity and the colonial language policy imposed by the Australians.
3. explore both why and how Pidgin became linked to the expression, articulation and realization of Papua New Guinean national unity contrary to Australian desires and expectations as expressed through their language policy.

The post World War II Australian colonial administration attempted to direct Papua New Guinea's development by the introduction and implementation of policies which were aimed at creating a 'western',

capitalist and democratic nation in the image of Australia.

The cornerstone of these policies related to mass education of the indigenous population in English due to both the perceived shortcomings of the relatively widespread 'trade' language of Pidgin and the consideration that English was inherently superior to any other language, 'trade' or vernacular, in the Territory.

A policy of English only in government-sponsored schools was thus established with a view to creating a proportion of the indigenous population educationally enfranchised in English and able, at some time in the unspecified, distant future to undertake the governing of their own capitalist democracy in English.

However, because of the effects of some colonial policies not related specifically to language and/or education, and activities and inactivities on the part of the administration in certain other areas, Pidgin, not English, came to be the language upon which Papua New Guineans focussed their concerns relevant to national unity. Pidgin became both the symbol and agent of this unity and helped the indigenous population define themselves to the point that independence from Australia was achieved in 1975.

The rapid diffusion of Pidgin through

1. the indentured labour system

2. the formation of economic cooperatives
3. the introduction of technological innovations, particularly radio broadcasting, and
4. the mass education of the population in Pidgin *via* the 'unrecognized' mission school system

coupled with an increase in the amount and strength of indigenous political pressure in favour of Pidgin aided in the emergence of a speech community.

This 'Pidginization' assumed a central role as a means of national definition. 'Pidginization'--shared norms, values, and communication patterns even in the absence of the language itself--provided the indigenous population with both the strength of purpose and the means by which at least a degree of unity of thought and action could be realized.

Pidgin enabled Papua New Guineans to 'choose', by circumstance and facility of use, their own language of national unity and not the language chosen for them by their colonizers.

The need to explore the relationship among Pidgin, language policy and developments in Papua New Guinea is established by the absence of such studies and the potential significance of the benefits which accrue to

investigating aspects of language determination. These benefits relate particularly to

> more efficient decision-making with regard not only to the implementation of given language policies but also to the formation of these policies themselves (Rubin and Jernudd,1971,xviii).

Over time Pidgin became

1. necessary: as an agent or method of ordinary discourse among ordinary people, crossing fluidly and efficiently many of the inter-tribal boundaries which heretofore had been crossable only with great difficulty, if at all. As necessity grew, Pidgin became
2. acceptable: obviously to those of the indigenous population who spoke it, but also to expatriates who wished to communicate and to a colonial administration which, in spite of its official policy of English only, and rhetoric to the contrary, both utilized it and contributed to its diffusion. Most importantly, Pidgin became
3. relevant: as it had always been, of course, to those who had no other means of communication in common, but also to the formation and realization of the nation as

a nation, not a 'Parliament of a Thousand Tribes' (White,1972). It became, in spite of policies to the contrary, the means by which expressions of national unity were formulated, transmitted and received among the indigenous population.

Recommendations

1. that the relationship between Pidgin and language policy since 1975 be investigated, particularly with regard to the emergence of a new indigenous elite and their vested interest in English.
2. that the efficacy of language policies which respond to the linguistic situation governments would like to have be compared to the efficacy of those policies which reflect the situation as it really is.
3. that further studies be conducted on the nature and substance of the elites and protoelites as the purveyors of national unity, particlarly in those countries which had a colonial administration which imposed a language policy.
4. that investigations be conducted in Papua New Guinea in order to ascertain current perceptions on the utilitarianism and

value of both Pidgin and English to the general population and to the elite/protoelite.

In the complexity and diversity which is Papua New Guinea, Pidgin and its relation to language policy and to the expression of national unity is but one small part. Nevertheless, it is a part which is at the heart of the definition of the people, individually and collectively, and which "...is part of the fundamental identity" (Mead,1959,32) of Papua New Guineans.

POSTSCRIPT

With the attainment of independence in September of 1975 a coalition government under the leadership of Chief Minister Michael Somare was put into power in Papua New Guinea. Responding to the tenor of the times and, in particular, to the demands of the young, educated elite, Pidgin was accorded a degree of official sanction which it had heretofore not enjoyed -- to the point of being granted formal recognition in the education system as a medium of instruction.

However, with the defeat of Somare's coalition in 1979 and the assumption of power by the second post-independence government under the leadership of Julius Chan, there seems to have been some reversal in policy in that once again English became the only officially recognized medium of instruction.

The reasons for an indigenous government to reiterate and reinstate a language policy that had been in effect under the Australian colonial administration, and had been criticized by many of the protoelite as a symbol and mechanism of colonial domination, encompass at least the following:

1. a degree of distance in time from the initial 'flush' of independence and from the demands of the young and educated who

had, for example, presented the Black Power Submission of 1968.

2. a reappraisal and continuation of indigenous appreciation of the fact that the most efficient and utilitarian way to power, money and prestige was through English -- the public rhetoric of independence notwithstanding, and
3. an increase in both indigenous and Australian pressure for Papua New Guinea to reach some kind of financial independence and self-sufficiency.

Particularly in light of the fact that the Australian government would gradually reduce its monetary support until it ended completely it was likely felt by the indigenous leadership that universal education in English, rather than Pidgin, would accelerate the process of 'development' as a whole.

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